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The Developmental history of a social action program, action for Appalachian youth, Kanawha County, West Virginia

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THE DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF A SOCIAL ACTION PROGRAM, ACTION FOR APPALACHIAN YOUTH, KANAWHA COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Today there are great and ever increasing opportunities for progressive communities to work out solutions to their common social problems and to build a better life for all their citizens. Financial aid is not lacking. It is available from a large array of private and governmental agencies and often these funds go begging for want of community interest and innovative ideas. It is felt therefore that the presentation of one community's experience might be helpful to others by providing an example of what can be done.

The beginning of the process is an idea. By following this idea from its inception through its development into a plan of action and by seeing this idea work, it is hoped that other new and innovative ideas might be sped on their way.

II. PREVIEW

The material divides itself rather naturally by reference to the name which the Kanawha County organization has adopted during the course of its existence. The

Charleston Youth Community will be the subject of the first chapter, its founding, and the major events which constituted its history, and the findings and recommendations arising from the research effort which was undertaken under its auspices. Next will be presented the theoretical framework evolved during the CYC days which formed the basis for the action program. Finally the action program will be presented itself, Action for Appalachian Youth.[1]

Throughout the presentation emphasis will be put upon those elements of research and program planning which hold promise of constituting an original contribution. Neighborhood Development comes in for particular attention since this program is the core of the Kanawha County experiment upon which all else depends. The "scale" formulation is presented in such detail because it forms the basis for Neighborhood Development.

III. PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROBLEM

At the time of this writing, the future of Action for Appalachian Youth is in some doubt. Funds for continuation are being sought and prospects are fair that they will be

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[1]The terms "Charleston Youth Community" or "C. Y. C." and "Action for Appalachian Youth" or "A.A.Y." refer to the same organization. The name was changed on February 5, 1964.

granted. There have been a great number of changes within the organization, administration has changed hands as has program emphasis. These changes will have to be appraised in the future. The concern of the present paper is to present the program as originally conceived and funded and to show it in action as objectively as possible. Presently plans are going forward to fit the program into the President's "War on Poverty." The delinquency emphasis has changed to a poverty emphasis, and most of the original research orientation has become secondary. The Neighborhood Development effort is still in progress but is not being expanded. The employment training program is expanding. Other programs are in the development stage but details have not been released.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Much of the information presented here was gathered while the present writer was employed as a Field Representative for the Charleston Youth Community and later as a Neighborhood Worker and finally as the Supervisor of Neighborhood Workers. It was possible, therefore, to view the evaluation of the program from the idea stage through the research phase and into the initiation of the action program. Since leaving the organization in June 1964,

contact has been maintained with all of those engaged in putting the plans into action, particularly with the field personnel of the Neighborhood Development segment.

In order to prepare the four case histories of Neighborhoods presented in Chapter IV, it was necessary to make frequent visits to the neighborhoods, and to interview the workers and participants on many occasions. The Neighborhood described in Chapter III is the initial experiment in Neighborhood Development and was one on which the present writer had voluminous notes from carrying out the experiment personally in the field.

Much of the factual information was checked for accuracy with The Charleston Gazette and The Daily Mail, both of which papers took a great interest in the organization from its inception. The records of the organization were also put at the disposal of the writer. The daily journals and weekly reports of the Neighborhood Workers were particularly useful as sources of information.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARLESTON YOUTH COMMUNITY

I. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHARLESTON YOUTH COMMUNITY

In one of his earliest speeches on the subject of an organization to combat the increase of the delinquency rate throughout Kanawha County, Intermediate Court Judge William J. Thompson compared himself to a doctor who never gets to see the patient until the disease has progressed to such a stage that only radical surgery is possible, which, in the terms of his analogy, is imprisonment. He cited the possible causes, as he saw them, as being the school drop-outs (52 per cent in Kanawha County fail to complete high school), and the unemployment among youth (running two to three times as great as among all workers). He then called for a coordinated community effort to find solutions. He said:

> Unless we can do something dramatic, the future looks bleak for our youth.
>
> We foresee a generation of people who don't know the value of work, or the satisfaction which can be derived from it. We are frightened by the possibility of increased public assistance as a way of life. As judges, we can visualize a crime rate that might stagger our court services and correctional facilities.[1]

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[1]The Charleston West Virginia Gazette, April 23, 1962, p. 1.

Due in large part to the leadership provided by Judge Thompson, The Charleston Youth Community, Inc. was established during the spring of 1962, for the purpose of establishing and operating programs within the County for the improvement of services to children and youth. The original fifty incorporators represented a cross-section of the leadership of the community. Educators, judges, business men, and political leaders were all represented. A nine-member board was selected by the membership under the chairmanship of Judge Thompson. This board was later expanded to twenty-five (in June of 1963).

II. THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME

The need to handle the delinquency problem had been recognized on the national level with the establishment of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, on May 11, 1961. President Kennedy had established the committee to coordinate the various youth serving functions within the government in order to cooperate with local groups such as the Charleston Youth Community in finding new solutions to the problem.

Included on the committee were the Attorney General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, as Chairman and the Secretaries of

Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Willard W. Wirtz and Mr. Anthony J. Celebrezze. Funding for the committee's work was provided under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, Public Law 87-274, which was signed into law, September 22, 1961.

In establishing policies to govern the program, emphasis was placed upon a coordinate situationally oriented approach within the local community. It was pointed out that the individually oriented rehabilitation approach had been found less than satisfactory and the hope was expressed that more innovative techniques aimed at the individual within his social milieu might bring results. It was further stressed that proposals for programs from communities should represent new approaches based upon adequate research and should not represent mere efforts to obtain more money or personnel for existing services. The programs, moreover, should be aimed primarily at prevention and should encompass all youths in the age ranges and social situations deemed to be most vulnerable, not just those who had already come to official attention.[2]

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[2]United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Policy Guides to the Presentation of Proposals for Funding under Public Law 87-274 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963).

The Charleston Youth Community, Inc., soon after its formation, took steps to devise programs which, it was felt, would meet the needs of Kanawha County's youth, and the organization applied for a program grant under Public Law 87-274. Most grants up to this time had been given for the planning of programs in large metropolitan areas. Problems in Kanawha County were seen to be of a somewhat different nature than those in the larger cities and the raw statistics on delinquency were not as impressive.

The grant was solicited, therefore, on the basis of the uniquenesses of the area and the possibility that any program evolved in the County would have possible application in many other areas, particularly throughout the Appalachian Mountains.

In a letter to the late President Kennedy from Senator Robert Byrd, in support of the CYC application this idea was stressed:

> Such a demonstration project in Kanawha County . . . would have permeating benefits throughout West Virginia and would serve as a useful guide for other economically distressed Appalachian Region areas which are faced with similar youth problems.[3]

This original request for a program grant was turned down by the President's Committee; however, CYC was

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[3]Quoted by The Charleston Gazette, May 5, 1962, p. 2.

encouraged to apply for a planning grant, for the purpose of financing a comprehensive study of the County and the development of new program ideas.

On September 21, 1962, the Attorney General announced a research grant of $131,000 to the Charleston Youth Community to partially finance a sixteen months' research program which would eventually cost $186,000. The project was to have three phases: (1) an initial planning phase to be contracted to West Virginia University, (2) the research effort itself, and (3) a program planning phase in which research findings would be translated into practical programs and application made for demonstration grants.

III. THE PLANNING PHASE

The first phase of the research project, the four-month planning phase from October 1, 1962 to February 1, 1963, was contracted with West Virginia University. Bernhard Scher, Ph.D., Chairman of the University's Department of Social Work, directed the planning period. His orientation gave CYC its initial direction. This orientation was stated by him as a sociological orientation rather than a psychological one. In reference to the latter approach, he said:

> While it has helped some, it has not served to stop the rising tide of juvenile delinquency. What we need

is preventive action rather than simply curative.

> We will of course look into the home life of the delinquent youth, but we will also see what the community is like in which he lived. We will work on the assumption that where there is crime and delinquency or social pathology we are likely to find society itself is in the wrong.[4]

During the four months planning period the temporary staff laid the following groundwork for later research. Public and private youth serving agencies were contacted in order to brief them individually on the purpose and scope of CYC. Their opinions were sought. A special effort was made to determine just where their services began and ended and just what problems and gaps they could note in the services available in the County. Those who had done research studies were asked to share their findings so that duplication could be avoided and direction given to the larger research study.

Raw data was gathered from all police, court and correctional sources within the County, together with data from the United States Census Bureau and County and City planning agencies in order to see the statistical delinquency picture.

Committees of board members were formed to serve the

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[4]The Charleston Gazette, September 25, 1962, p. 1.

special function within the community of winning support for projects within certain areas of interest corresponding to the institutional structure of the community. These committees are listed below:

Educational Opportunities for Children and Youth

Emotionally Disturbed Children and Youth

Youth Employment Opportunities

Recreation for Children and Youth

Social Services for Children and Youth

Committee on the Treatment of Juvenile and Youth Offenders

Demonstration Committee

Finance Committee

A twenty-five member General Advisory Committee was formed representing the major public and private agencies in the community. A five-member Technical Advisory Committee was also formed of persons engaged in research and statistical activities. These persons pledged their time as a local contribution. In practice, these committees never met or functioned.

Interviewing for a permanent staff was begun and especially for a permanent Director. Office space was obtained.

IV. THE RESEARCH PHASE

The main research effort began on February 1, 1963, under the direction of Gordon S. Jaeck, M.S.W., Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wheaton College and former Chairman of the Minnesota Board of Probation and Parole. Mr. Jaeck had directed similar delinquency studies in Michigan and Oregon during his career. He modified and broadened the original direction of research toward a more balanced approach between the psychological and sociological orientations current in the field.

Richard C. Erickson, M.S.W., formerly Assistant Superintendent of the Hennepin County Juvenile Center (Minneapolis) served as Assistant Director under Mr. Jaeck from June, 1962, until the demonstration grant was received.

Robert A. Anglin, Ph.D., Chairman of the Department of Sociology at West Virginia State College, served as research director during most of the time. The statistical studies already begun in the initial planning stage were continued and given new form by Dr. Anglin. These included the development of Census Tracts and organization of a Census Tract Committee in the County, the collation of raw data on delinquency, school dropouts, and dependency, and the development of numerous exhaustive attitude scales to be used for structured interviews.

Community Analysts were assigned to divergent communities throughout the County to make in-depth studies in order to have as complete a picture as possible of the situation in which children lived. Special attempts were made to understand those areas which came to be seen, from statistical studies, as high delinquency areas. The Community Analysts provided narrative descriptive and life history material primarily. They also used a "Community Profile Instrument" designed by Dr. Anglin and a "Household Instrument" (described in detail in Chapter III). One of the primary concerns of these Community Analysts was the identification of indigenous leadership within these areas.

Study and evaluation of the institutions within the County affecting children and youth was continued and intensified. Special attempts were made to interest these institutions in new program ideas and to involve them as much as possible.

CYC continued to provide leadership in attempting to form a Census Tract Committee in the County. A consultant was hired for this purpose, Mr. James R. Kirby, Jr., City Planning Analyst for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Kirby drew up a tentative plan for the tracting of the County and met with local leaders on several occasions. To date, however, this project has not been completed due to

a general lack of interest throughout the County.

Detached workers were assigned to three different areas, one farming area, one former coal mining area and one inner-city area to check out the feasibility of some program ideas on an experimental basis. These early attempts were valuable primarily as a learning experience and provided needed information for the development of program proposals.

Special efforts were made to solicit the ideas of the youth of the County as to the problems they faced and the possible solutions which they might envision. To this end staff members contacted and interviewed groups of troubled and non-troubled youth in and out of school and conducted exhaustive interviews with individuals considered to fall within the categories of troubled and non-troubled. Unfortunately most of this information has never been tabulated and collated; however, the contacts thus provided to staff members had a profound effect upon the design of program proposals.

V. RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the sociological literature, large city slums had been the subject of close scrutiny for many years. The problems in these cities had been severe enough and dramatic

enough to become a focal point for the whole nation's concern, but little had been learned about the nature of social problems in the smaller communities, the rapidly industrializing, recently rural areas of the country. The President's Committee grant had given CYC the opportunity to subject Kanawha County to a large scale scrutiny for the first time in its history.

Unlike studies conducted among homogeneous populations in large cities, the CYC study had had to address itself to a rural-urban complex of over 250,000 people which divided itself into three widely contrasting populations. One third was found to reside in the City of Charleston; another third, in rural, often isolated hollows throughout the County's 914 square miles; and the remaining third in suburban areas. A remarkable variety of life styles was evident within the population, ranging from affluence to abject poverty.

The Economy

An examination of the economic situation brought CYC face to face with some startling contrasts. Thirty thousand persons were found to be subsisting on welfare payments in a County which is a leader in the nation in chemical production and has one of the highest average industrial wage scales in the country. Nearly fourteen per cent of the

families in Kanawha County were subsisting on less than $2,000 per year, when the median family income was found to be $5,862.

Forty per cent of all youths in the crucial formative age group sixteen to twenty-one, were unable to find employment in an industrial complex with a constant need to recruit workers. More than twenty-five per cent of these youths, aged fifteen to nineteen, were forced to move out of state, looking for work, while the County continued to grow by in-migration.

Education

Similar contrasts were apparent in the area of education. Adults in Kanawha County were found to have completed an average of 10.1 years of school. This compared favorably with the nation's average. The average figure, however, was found to obscure the range of variation. The fact was nine out of every one hundred adults, aged twenty-five and over, had less than a fifth grade education and nineteen out of every one hundred had less than an eighth grade education. Most of these people found themselves virtually unemployable in an increasingly technical job-market. A look at the school dropout rate, which ranged from 23.3 per cent in Poca Magisterial District to 3.8 per cent in the City of

Charleston, indicated that this situation could prove to be a chronic condition for many thousands of the County's citizens. When the great number of children (estimated at fifteen per cent) who were not in school due to the legal exemptions of indigency and isolation, were added to the dropout figures, the situation seemed even more alarming.

Housing

In housing, the contrast, if not more acute, was at least more obvious. Groups of shacks could be found throughout the County, often very near or even in the center of fine residential districts. The percentage of unsound housing was found to range from 63.7 per cent in Washington District to 18.9 per cent in Jefferson District.

Religion

A study of the role of the churches, particularly as they affect the youth of the area, justified the following conclusions: the larger urban churches provided many needed non-religious services, kindergartens, scouting programs, basketball leagues, but these services were found to be primarily, if not exclusively, limited to a commuter membership drawn from the community at large. Only in exceptional cases did the churches concern themselves with the totality of the neighborhoods in which they were located. The

smaller rural churches, largely fundamentalist in outlook, tended to limit their services strictly to religion, often actively and conscientiously opposing any activities for youth which might be considered "worldly."

Health and Welfare

CYC found evidence of dedication and genuine concern but many glaring disparities in services provided by health and welfare agencies. Although many emotionally disturbed children in Kanawha County managed to be diagnosed, few, if any, received treatment. No classes were provided for the retarded child in grades one through three and none for youngsters of junior and senior high school ages. The state institution for retarded children was found to be critically overcrowded. No funds were available for preventive medicine for welfare recipients. No home visits were made and no rehabilitative counseling done by welfare department workers except in very exceptional cases. Caseloads were extremely high. No classes were provided for the retarded blind. No services were extended to the deaf living at home. Nursing services in the schools, particularly in those located in the underprivileged areas of the County, were to be seen as extremely cursory due to inadequate financing and staffing. No dental care was provided at the

junior and senior high school levels for those unable to pay.

Many of the services which did exist were seen to discriminate against rural youth. Rural youth found themselves seriously impaired in their attempts to take advantage of services because of isolation, poor communication, and a general inability on the part of rural clients to manipulate the bureaucratic machinery at both public and private agencies.

Transportation

Sheer geographical isolation was seen as a handicap to a great number of rural residents. Bus routes served the main river valleys, the Kanawha and the Elk, but rates were too high to permit frequent use by those who most needed access to the services available in Charleston. For the "hollow dwellers" who lived off the main routes and without a personal car, hitch-hiking or walking were found to be the only means available. CYC observers frequently found people in the rural areas of the County who hadn't been to Charleston in years and some who had never been to the City in their lives.

Recreation

Public recreational facilities were declared woefully

inadequate in Kanawha County. By the standards of the National Recreation Association which calls for twenty-five acres to be set aside for recreational use for each one thousand people, Kanawha County was found to meet .02 per cent of need. Also evident was the fact that existing facilities were operating far below capacity due to a shortage of supervisory personnel.

Isolated Farming Areas

These neighborhoods were seen to suffer from a remoteness which was not merely a matter of distance from the center of Charleston, but also a matter of cultural lag behind the dominant culture of American society. School dropout rates tended to run high, not only due to the difficulty of getting to school, but also due to an orientation which failed to place a high value on education. The incidence of reported delinquency was not found to be very high in these areas; however, many young people encountered severe difficulties when they left their ridge farms and moved to the cities. A poverty of skills, lack of experience with government functions, and a traditionally individualistic approach to handling grievances often put them in conflict with the complex urban environment. In language and values these areas displayed the rugged culture of the

earliest settlers of the County. Rapid modernization had made their land based economy obsolete; and since modern society felt no need for their unskilled services, these self-reliant, hard-working people emerged as strangers in the County which their forebearers had pioneered.

Former Mining Areas

In hollows and bottoms throughout the County, CYC found mining camps in every conceivable state of deterioration. The mining industry, once a prime source of employment for the rugged mountaineers who were being forced off of their ridge-side farms, had rapidly mechanized. The 9,000 mining jobs available in 1947 shrank to 3,200 by 1962, and the trend was continuing. Most of the people living in these camps had been drawn for a short time into the mainstream of modern industrial life and then suddenly dropped. Contact with the larger culture had been on an intimate and daily basis. Values and life expectations had been modified by these contacts, but the opportunity for fulfilling newly formed expectations now was lacking. Education was found to have little meaning; delinquency and dependency rates ran high.

Close-in Hollow Areas

CYC found that many of the people moving from

ridge-side farms or deteriorating mining camps tended to settle in hollow areas in or near the city. There they were inclined to retain as much of their backwoods culture as possible, often failing to make an effective adjustment to the urban setting, and frequently remaining self-consciously rebellious and resentful. Since they depended upon the city for the meeting of day to day needs for clothing, food, schooling and jobs, contact between them and their more urbanized neighbors was frequent and conflict often intense. Delinquency was found to be highest in these areas.

Inner-City Slums

These areas were found to be not unlike large city slum areas. Their population tended to be transient except in Negro areas. Skill levels were uniformly low, delinquency high, employment marginal.

VI. PROGRAM PROPOSALS

The Charleston Youth Community proposed an extremely ambitious overall program to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime on December, 1963, embracing virtually all phases of community life within Kanawha County. A résumé of these proposed programs follows. The reader should bear in mind that only two of

the ten proposed programs have received funding. These two, the Neighborhood Development and the Employment Training programs, will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV. The programs proposed by the Charleston Youth Community were presented in written form and then defended by the Administrative Staff of CYC in Washington before a review panel of the President's Committee.[5]

Neighborhood Development

The entire program of AAY was designed to revolve around the concept of community development on a neighborhood basis. Working in target neighborhoods (some sixty throughout Kanawha County) neighborhood workers would help disadvantaged populations to create processes whereby they might meet their own needs and solve their own problems. In most cases the formation of neighborhood organizations was foreseen as a first step.

While serving as a catalyst to neighborhood activity, the neighborhood workers would also serve as a bridge connecting the people in these neighborhoods with the larger community, establishing lines of communication with existing

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[5]The Charleston Youth Community, Action for Appalachian Youth, A Demonstration Program for Kanawha County Youth (Charleston: The Charleston Youth Community, 1963).

services and those which might be developed in AAY's other program elements.

Education

Two mobile reading centers were proposed which could be used in target neighborhoods on a circulating basis. These were to be more than mere bookmobiles in that they would be staffed by specialists in remedial reading. Personnel would become engaged in organizing individualized programs and discussions.

It was proposed that ten schools within the County be selected to serve as community schools. In these schools special activities would be conducted during the evenings and weekends under the direction of a community school director. An attempt would be made to provide the neighborhood served by the school with any sort of activity in which people might demonstrate interest. The entire community, not just school age children, would be encouraged to participate.

A special program for potential dropouts in six junior high schools in the County was designed to provide half-day formal schooling in small personalized classes and half-day work experience. Kindergartens designed to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged populations of ten

target neighborhoods would be introduced. A six-day workshop for persons whose official functions put them into regular contact with disadvantaged people would be conducted each summer.

Employment

A comprehensive employment training and placement program was proposed under the name of KEY (Kanawha Employment for Youth). After some amending the proposal became an OMAT project (Office of Manpower and Training) under the Department of Labor. The program was designed to fill a gap in existing employment training programs operating in Kanawha County under governmental and private auspices and was especially aimed at disadvantaged rural youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who had been out of school for at least one year.

Recruitment in the target areas would be accomplished by the neighborhood workers. A determination would be made after testing as to the best program for the youth. For those who were found to be in need of basic work skill training, remedial reading training, and special counseling, a KEY Training Center was proposed. In this center special techniques were to be developed for the training of youth who had a record of failure in other more formal training

settings. Transportation and subsistence allowances were to be provided for a maximum of 180 youths at any one time.

Other youths who were found after testing to be capable of on-the-job training would be entered into such training as they might show some aptitude for and interest in. In these placements the trainee would receive a minimum of fifty dollars per week (the minimum wage) provided partially by the employer and partially by the Department of Labor under supplementary contracts. Under this arrangement the government share could not exceed thirty dollars per week. While on the job, the trainees would receive regular counseling from professional KEY staff members.

For those youth who might live too far from the KEY Training Center or their on-the-job training placement, or might otherwise require a place to live, a residence center was proposed. It was hoped that this residential setting might provide a wholesome educational experience in and of itself in helping rural youth in becoming acculturated to their new urban industrial setting.

Since it was foreseen that sufficient on-the-job training placements might be hard to find within the County due to the highly specialized requirements of local industry, it was proposed that some of these placements might be made in neighboring states. Columbus, Ohio was tentatively

advanced as a possibility because of its easy access and its widely diversified economy and because many of the County's youth were known to seek work in that area. A youth hostel in Columbus was foreseen which would provide a home atmosphere, counseling and special training when needed.

In addition to the remediation and basic work skills training, it was foreseen that the KEY program might establish more advanced specific work skill training in trades known to be in national demand if existing facilities were not found to be adequate.

Health

To fill the gaps in existing health services in the County, CYC recommended a four-point program: (1) expansion of the Charleston Guidance Clinic, (2) increased psychological and social services in the County's school system, (3) founding of a day hospital for emotionally disturbed children, and (4) the providing of health services in the ten community schools proposed in the educational element of the program. It was not suggested that these programs would necessarily fall under the purvue of the President's Committee but that they should be a part of the comprehensive AAY program. It was hoped that the National Institute of Mental Health might help in these areas along with some private foundations.

Welfare

Two experimental projects were proposed in the field of welfare. It was suggested that a full-time social worker be assigned to each of two housing projects located within target neighborhoods. The function of these social workers would be to aid individuals and families in making use of available resources within the community, setting up new programs and hopefully bringing about a decrease in dependency.

The second experiment would be an implementation of an existing plan evolved by Greenleigh Associates, Inc. of New York and proposed in 1962 by the West Virginia Welfare Conference to the West Virginia Legislature. The experiment would involve an intensive casework approach to selected areas which would be used as demonstration units. Control groups would be set up for comparison purposes utilizing the typical welfare techniques currently in use within the State. The criterion of success would be a decrease in dependency figures.

Recreation

Research evaluation of the County made it abundantly clear that rural youth particularly had very scant recreational resources and very limited access to those resources

available in the urban areas. It became obvious that the development of recreational facilities in disadvantaged areas was a strongly felt need in these areas and that this would be a task to which neighborhood workers would have to address themselves. In order to create a resource for workers and the neighborhoods to draw upon, a unique and imaginative plan was proposed. The plan called for eight mobile units supplied from a central depot to be at the disposal of neighborhoods. Depending upon the desires of the neighborhood these mobile units would supply sports equipment, arts and crafts supplies, drama and musical equipment, as well as resources for various other cultural activities. Two flatbed trucks would be equipped with mobile swimming tanks and would be operated in cooperation with the local YMCA. Institutes would be conducted to train volunteer recreational leaders and certain equipment would be provided in each neighborhood for these volunteers to work with.

Transportation

To back up all programs the need for a flexible transportation resource was foreseen. Some eighty-six vehicles, mostly from surplus sources, would make up a pool for the transportation of youth to and from the employment training programs, recreational sites and educational

programs. The mobile units would be drawn from this pool and the motor pool itself would provide a center for the training of youth in the automotive trades.

Corrections

A plan was submitted which would have formed a "Central Court Services" under which all existing court services and County facilities would be coordinated and expanded, salaries would be raised, uniform statistical data could be obtained and more adequate residential treatment would be provided.

Evaluation and Training

Additional plans were formulated for a continuing evaluation of the program by the Center for Appalachian Studies and for the continuing training of staff and the development of potential staff members.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I. INSTITUTIONAL EMPHASIS

Most of the thinking within the research organization initially followed the classical pattern. Efforts were divided into categories corresponding roughly to the institutional framework of the County unit of study. Staff members were assigned responsibilities in education, corrections, health and welfare, employment and recreation. Committees of board members were formed in these categories with the purpose of mobilizing community support behind possible demonstration programs within their respective areas of interest and to attempt to quiet discontent among existing agencies which had begun to show some signs of anxiety about possible undue interference with their internal workings by CYC.

It was assumed, prior to the introduction of the concept of scale, that the eventual shape of any demonstration program would be much like those already in existence in other project cities, for an example, a target area would be defined: statistical data would be gathered for purposes of comparing this area with a non-target area; programs would

be introduced exclusively into the target area and results compared after a suitable period. The criterion of success would be the reduction of delinquency.

In order to determine the shape of the actual programs extensive interviews were conducted during the summer of 1963 with questionnaires designed to determine attitudes of youth, designated as "delinquents," or "non-troubled," in relation to all of these areas of interest. It was assumed that somewhere within the nexus of all the institutional services of the County as they related to the individual was the cause of delinquency. It was not assumed that the answers to the questions would provide a definitive answer to the causation of delinquency, but that a correlation of these findings would guide staff members toward finding gaps in services and in designing original programs to fill these gaps in the target area.

II. AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Concurrently with the formal-statistical approach to researching the delinquency problems in Kanawha County, another approach was being used. It had become obvious that a statistical approach would not yield a sufficiently detailed picture of the Kanawha County situation. This was true for many reasons. There were no census tracts and

therefore no readily available information on the internal divisions of the County. Certain information was available by enumeration district division, for an example, the area which can be covered by one census worker, but this too was found unrepresentative of homogeneous areas with some few exceptions. Most statistical information was divided by magisterial districts, which are arbitrary political boundaries. These areas all encompassed a wide range of economic conditions. Averages so drawn could not constitute the basis for meaningful conclusions. Several staff members therefore were assigned the task of studying these areas in the field in addition to their other duties. By traveling to the far corners of the County, living in blighted neighborhoods and gaining rapport with many of the more disadvantaged people, they developed insights which contrasted strongly with the assumptions which governed the more formal research efforts and eventually called into question the very assumptions implicit in that effort.

As these participant observers became more and more knowledgeable about the County, its people, its various cultural forms and its history, it became increasingly clear that the County would not yield itself to the easy traditional classifications. The uniqueness of the situation even made the ordinary rural-urban division virtually

meaningless when considered alone.

Rural blended into urban almost imperceptibly as modern blended into traditional and farming blended into industrial ways of life. The limiting conditions of poverty, dependency, unemployment, delinquency and truancy were found as constellations which revolved about certain problem pockets in the County in a vicious cycle. The large homogeneous target area concept used in other projects could not be used here. It became obvious that action programs would need to be directed into these problem pockets.

It came to be seen as inconceivable that any one of the limiting conditions found in these neighborhoods could be attacked separately or that any modification of the institutional structure of the County would be sufficient to make real and lasting change possible.

This informal participant-observation effort formulated questions which the formal research with its institutionally oriented assumptions was unable to answer. It did not, however, provide many answers itself. The role played by the various historical backgrounds of the neighborhoods and the role played by their various cultural forms in causing and perpetuating problems were recognized but how these functioned as casual elements was unclear. The essential interrelationship of limiting conditions was seen, but the question of

the best way of breaking the cycle went unanswered. It was not until the introduction of the concept of "scale" that these observations could be placed in a logical theoretical framework which would guide a program of action and select the most promising points of intervention in the social situation.

III. INTRODUCTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SCALE

The concept of scale was originally developed by a husband-wife team of British anthropologists, Drs. Godfrey and Monica Wilson, in the course of their studies in East Africa and Tanganyika.[1] It has been extended and given a new context and form by Dr. O. Norman Simpkins in his research efforts among the American Indian and more recently in his native West Virginia. The introduction of this concept by Dr. Simpkins who served as a consultant marked a turning point in the research program.

Scale Defined

Within the concept of "scale" it is assumed, first of all, that every human being in whatever life situation he may find himself is virtually completely dependent upon

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[1]Godfrey and Monica Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change (Cambridge: The University Press, 1945).

other human beings. He is dependent physically for life itself upon his parents, for early nurture and protection upon these same parents or surrogates, and for maintenance of life later upon a variety of persons, builders of shelters or providers of material for this purpose, cultivators and distributors of food and so ad infinitum.

This total dependence of man upon man is not limited to the physical well-being of man. It extends also into the social sphere. Man is a social animal and must form relationships with other men in his society. Similarly, in the intellectual sphere, man depends completely upon other men for the concepts and cultural forms which guide his actions.

All men therefore are equal in being dependent upon another. The differences among men can be seen then not in terms of total dependency but in the varying range and intensity of this dependency. This varying range and intensity of dependent relationships is called "scale." An illiterate mountaineer in an isolated section of Appalachia depends upon his close neighbors and relatives for help in harvesting crops, building his house and in providing social intercourse. His ideas come from his father and his father's father and from these same neighbors and kinfolk with perhaps a new idea now and then from the storekeeper or bartender at

the closest junction or village. The range of this man's relationships is narrow. The intensity of these relationships, because he is so completely dependent upon so few people, is very great. This is the condition described as "small scale."

If "small scale" describes the condition of a man who has developed few relationships and is intensely dependent upon these few, "large scale" can be seen as the condition of a man who has developed (or has received as his legacy) a great number of relationships and is less dependent upon any one of them. A college graduate working in the chemical industry of the Kanawha Valley may wear suits made in Hong Kong and belong to professional societies with international membership. His ideas have come from all cormers of the modern world. Many of his cultural forms can be traced back to Greek and Roman models. The range of his physical, social and cultural relationships is broad not only in the dimension of space but in time as well; and, as a result, he is less dependent upon any single one. He is "large scale."

The Wilsons define "scale" as: ". . . the number of people in relation and the intensity of those relations." They go on to say: "In comparing the scale of societies therefore, we compare the relative size of groups with

relations of similar intensity."[2]

The Application of Scale Within The Situation

It is not necessary to limit scale to the individual in question. The same concept can be applied as well to the family group, the neighborhood, the community and the total society. In fact in order to see what scale means in an individual case it is necessary to see how the scale of that individual relates to the scale of some reference group.

Every individual therefore (or family or community or society) which is the subject of a study must be seen within the context of the total situation of which it is a part. To say, for instance, that a mountaineer is "small scale," we must presumably be seeing the man in the context of an advanced community or society. If we viewed the same man merely in the context of his family or neighborhood, we might see him as extremely resourceful and imaginative. Similarly a neighborhood can only be seen as "small scale," or depressed or deprived in relation to the larger society of which it is a part.

Each situation must be viewed whole. Each situation

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[2]Ibid., p. 25.

under study must be seen as a totality, a gestalt.

The Components of the Situation

Every social situation may be seen as composed of three distinct categories of events. Everything which happens in the situation can be seen as primarily having reference either to the material, social or cultural aspects of life. The man who is the focus of study must come to terms with cold and hunger, i.e., his material environment, with other people, i.e., his social environment, and with the ideas and values with which he comes into contact, i.e., his cultural environment. All of his actions are directed toward maintaining or enhancing his control of the situation in one or another of these respects. The mountaineer builds his home to protect him from the elements; he assumes roles of mutual benefit with others; he forms a value system to direct his actions in the future and to assess events around him.

Krech and Crutchfield point up the importance of dealing with all the elements of the situation in this manner:

> Social phenomena may be analyzed at three different levels: (1) the level of the social behavior of the individual, (2) the level of the behavior of social groups, (3) the level of operation of social organizations or institutions . . .

> A comprehensive analysis of social phenomena will necessarily involve study of all three of these levels . . .[3]

Warner sees the social situation as dividing itself into logical divisions as follows:

> Three fundamental types of social behavior may be conveniently distinguished and isolated in every society . . . These three types of behavior are designed to adapt man to his natural environment, to other individuals, and to the unknown supernatural around him.[4]

White puts it this way:

> For our purposes, we shall distinguish three subsystems of culture, namely the technological, sociological, and ideological systems. The technological system is composed of the material, mechanical, physical, and chemical instruments together with the techniques of their use . . . The sociological system is made of interpersonal relations . . . The ideological system is composed of ideas, beliefs, and knowledge expressed in articulate speech or other symbolic forms . . .[5]

Scale in Relation to Problem Behavior

In the presentation to the President's Committee, CYC

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[3]David Krech, and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948), p. 14.

[4]W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 21.

[5]Leslie A. White, The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization (New York: Forvar, Straus and Company, 1949), pp. 364-365.

examined and rejected the frequently called upon antithetical points of view concerning the etiology of delinquent behavior. No attempt was made to place the blame either upon the society or the individual. Delinquency was seen rather ". . . as part of a syndrome of maladjustive behavior . . ." Such behavior was seen as most likely to occur ". . . when there are appreciable unevenesses, discrepancies, or differences in scale of the entities involved in the total situation . . ."[6] This statement provided the basis for the design of action programs, particularly the Neighborhood Development program. A further examination of the meaning of this statement follows.

Uneveness of scale. There is an inherent essential relationship between the various aspects of the total situation, i.e., the physical, social and cultural. An advance toward control in one aspect cannot help but affect control in the others and be reflexive in its effect upon the original object. An advance must be made evenly along a three-pronged front or ultimately fail. For instance if the mountaineer learns an advanced technical trade and moves away from his home to ply that trade he has made a great

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[6]The Charleston Youth Community, op. cit., Sec. V-A, p. 3.

leap forward on the physical or technological level but some crises may await him on the social and cultural levels. He might find himself in a factory where he must operate impersonally with a large number of co-workers who seem strange and unacceptable to him. He may be beset by a variety of ideas and values which call into question everything which he learned at home. He is in the condition at this point of what is called uneveness of scale. Whereas he was only called upon to operate with relatives, neighbors and friends at home in mutually dependent relationships, he must now operate autonomously. Whereas he had an unquestioned, tradition-blessed world view and value system at home which answered his needs, he must now develop a new one to fit his new situation or else reject the situation and hurry back home, abandoning the advance on the physical level for peace on the social and cultural levels.

Uneveness of scale then is the condition in which scale advances unevenly toward control of only one aspect of the situation. The focus of the study is out of equilibrium with itself.

Discrepancies in scale. If a person is able to avoid the hazards of uneveness of scale when he moves away from his home situation, he might still be in for trouble because

of some discrepancy between his own scale and that of his new home. A mountaineer may perhaps be able to leave for an urban situation, take up work which involves no great technological advance, live and work with friends like himself who will insulate him from new disturbing ideas and provide him with the intense interpersonal dependencies to which he is accustomed. In this situation he would remain uniformly small in scale, there will be no great personal conflicts to cause him trouble. He has merely moved his small scale life to the city. There may be trouble however when he begins to raise goats and allows them to forage about in the city's park, or when he makes moonshine, or breeds rattlesnakes for use in his religious services. He will suffer in these and many other eventualities from a discrepancy between his scale and the scale of those who make and enforce the laws.

If, on the other hand, this same person were to raise his scale in all three areas and reach a very good adjustment in the city and then be forced by circumstances to return to the hollow or ridge where he was raised, he would find himself in a similar quandary. There his discrepancy, on the large scale, from his neighbors might cause him to be labeled lazy, impersonal and godless.

A discrepancy in scale can set up possibilities of conflict, whether it is on the large scale side or the small

scale side or whether the discrepancy is between an individual and his family, an individual and his neighborhood, a neighborhood as a whole and the larger community of which it is a part, or between a community and the total society of which it is a part.

IV. CORRELATES OF SCALE

The Wilsons in Africa discovered that there were six readily observable characteristics of societies which could be used to gauge a society's relative scale. These they called correlates of scale. They were presented as follows:

1. Complexity
2. Control of the Physical Environment
3. Non-Magicality
4. Impersonality
5. Social Mobility
6. Autonomy in the Narrower Relations, Subordination in the Wider.[7]

The Wilsons did not attempt to apply these correlates to a systematic objective measurement of the relative scales of societies.

Dr. Simpkins, together with Mr. Jerry Moles, Acting Coordinator of Neighborhood Development, and the present writer, undertook to apply the basic concepts of the Wilsons to the Kanawha County situation and to evolve some correlates

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[7]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 83-108.

of scale which might have some possibility of objective measurement. The result was an expansion of the Wilsons' original six to twelve correlates. Under each heading, indices were selected which were easily observable and comparable from family to family within the County. It was thought that an objective measure of scale could be applied to families which would eventually yield a measure of the scale of problem pockets in comparison to the whole County, State and Nation. The twelve correlates are presented below. (For a detailed breakdown of the twelve correlates together with the indices selected for each and a rationale for the selection of each index, see Appendix A.)

A. Technological Level (i.e., the amount of control of a household over its material environment)

    1. Technological Development
    2. Occupational Specialization
    3. Extent of Transportation Development
    4. Extent of Use of Science

B. Sociological Level (i.e., the extent of autonomy among people)

    1. Impersonality
    2. Social Mobility
    3. Social Pressure
    4. Economic Cooperation

C. Ideological Level (i.e., the variety of ideas)

    1. Communication of Ideas
    2. Identification with Others
    3. Intellectual Variety
    4. Artistic Variety

An objective instrument was prepared based upon these twelve correlates. It was called a "Household Instrument" and was pre-tested and amended several times. With the loss of research orientation within the organization, it came to be disregarded and has not yet been applied to any significant sample. The validity of the scale concept therefore remains untested by objective means. There is, however, a great deal of evidence from field observation that it is a useful concept. (See Chapter IV.)

V. INITIAL EXPERIMENT BASED UPON THE CONCEPT OF SCALE

In order to design a meaningful action program upon the basis of the theoretical framework which had been evolved, i.e., the concept of scale, it was necessary to carry out an experiment in one of the problem pockets of the County. It was hoped that this would indicate the most effective means by which the scale of these neighborhoods could be more closely aligned to the scale of the community at large. It was assumed that the behavior of people in these neighborhoods was directed toward maintaining or enhancing their own control of their situations as they perceived it. Their basic motivation therefore was not seen as essentially different from that of any other group of people within the County. It was also assumed that these

groups had the right to move at their own pace in their own direction and were therefore not merely to be manipulated in some direction or other.

Three basic techniques therefore were proposed which held promise of helping these problem groups to gain greater control of their situation while avoiding manipulation which might encourage still more dependency. These were:

1. Community development applied on a neighborhood basis in the direction of felt need within the neighborhood;

2. Action research carried out in the field by the people themselves;

3. Building of resources for neighborhoods to call upon. To this and the neighborhood worker was to be a resource himself and a bridge to resources within the community.

These techniques can be seen at work in the experiment described below.

The present writer, in order to determine the feasibility of operating programs throughout the County based upon the action techniques implicit in the concept of scale undertook, along with the occasional help of other CYC staff members, to organize a community action program. Dry Branch Hollow on Cabin Creek was selected because it seemed such an extreme case of disorganized community life. It was assumed that a successful experiment in that area would be a fair forecast of success in other areas as well.

At one time, Dry Branch, along with the whole Cabin Creek area of which it is a part, flourished with the coal industry. After some brutal labor wars, the union brought wages to unprecedented highs; and an atmosphere of hard work, good pay, and conspicuous spending drew many of the mountaineers off their ridge-side farms into the coal camps. Wet Branch, Dry Branch, Seldom Seen, Barefoot, Slacktown and Wealthy Acres teemed with brand-new company houses and numerous children. Even the depression had been a time of relative prosperity to these mountain people who had scratched a meager living from the steep hillsides and stoney bottoms for generations. The company now ran everything and owned everything and everybody. What they didn't control, the unions controlled.

Then came World War II and its aftermath and a rapid mechanization of the mines. Fewer miners produced more coal. The unions, with their strength and financial power based on membership, slipped in power. Many of the better seams of coal in the area were depleted. The companies, faced with increasing competition from foreign sources and from increased use of diesel fuel and electricity, began to withdraw many of the services which they had once offered.

At the time of the experiment there were two mines operating in the area served by the Dry Branch Post Office;

but these were small "punch-hole" or "paw and claw" mines, the sort of operation which follows the large strip mining operations boring into the face a short distance and trucking the coal to nearby users. The workers and truckers in these operations were not from Dry Branch. Few of the Dry Branch residents worked at all on regular jobs. In Dry Branch Hollow, a side hollow which has its mouth on Cabin Creek and includes Seldom Seen Hollow, there were approximately one hundred families. Only seven men were gainfully employed. Over ninety per cent of the families drew some form of relief or welfare payment (e.g., Miners' Welfare, ADC, ADCU, or Social Security). Some families represented three generations of relief recipients. School children, as a rule, quit as soon as they were legally able (age sixteen) and many even sooner. Among those who went to school, absenteeism was a major problem. Winter meant a march of two miles or more through mud on a surplus commodity diet to a school which was not highly valued by most residents. The teachers were outsiders who had different values and had frequently shown open contempt for some of their charges. Bad feelings existed between the "hollow dwellers" and the school authorities with convincing arguments advanced by both sides as to the worthlessness of the other. Fundamentalist, sectarian churches dotted the

landscape and advanced their doctrines of resignation and other-worldliness to a minority of the residents. No focal point existed any longer for the solving of common problems. The mining companies had resigned the task, the union no longer existed as a force, the churches were divisive and the services of the larger community, including the school, were handed down as if from "on high." The people, bereft of the social skills requisite for organizing solutions to their own problems, fell back on their loyalty to kin and selected neighbors, dividing the hollow into proud but frightened groups. In this way, residents of Dry Branch had passed from the rugged independence of their forebears through company and union paternalism into government dependency.

CYC's major interest in the community was in developing a methodology and defining a function for a neighborhood worker which would have applicability in the many other similar areas of the County. CYC was aware of the factionalism in the area, but had also become aware of some very dynamic and ambitious qualities of many of the residents which gave some hope of success.

The immediate goal was to attempt to get people together in accomplishing something, anything. CYC didn't care what it was as long as the local people saw the project

as something necessary to their well-being. This non-directive role was found to be very hard to maintain in a group of people used to being planned for, and ministered to, on the basis of decisions far from their control. Everyone wanted to know: 'What you all goin' to do out hyer?" or 'When you all goin' to start doin' somethin'?" The Neighborhood Worker would throw the question right back to them as: 'What do you think people want to do?" or 'What do you think we can help people do?"

During the period of wandering and getting acquainted, CYC's lack of decision as to their welfare was confusing to people. Many decided that the neighborhood workers were just "goofing off," and since their wanderings certainly couldn't be classified as work, they were seen by some as "government goldbricks." Riding the political payroll, however, was not seen as particularly reprehensible within the value system of the neighborhood so this did no great harm and eventually people began to freely express their opinions about Dry Branch and its needs.

People were, at first, readiest in sharing damning information about their neighbors, e.g., "Them people is all nuts! You all ought to throw that'n in jail. He gits DPA and spends it on cars. He's got three now he works on, and them 'youngins' without 'nary' good shoe for school,

and hit winter comin' on!"

The refusal on the part of the workers to call the law or report violation of welfare codes was seen as further disloyalty of their part to their employer but eventually had the advantage of making people feel free to talk about themselves as well as their neighbors. It was CYC's feeling that the neighborhood worker's function had to be completely separated from any identification with law enforcement. They saw themselves not as agents for extending the power of the County's institutional framework into pockets of resistance but as catalysts to help these "hollow people" become a self-organized vocal part of the larger community by brunt of their own efforts.

Job hunting was found to be a particular preoccupation of many in the hollow who were not content to stay on relief (and this was found to be true of most in their periodic spurts of ambition which usually ended in failure and renewed lethargy). One young man, a recent father, told the workers that he wouldn't go on ADC: "I haven't sunk that low yet!" He had been to the Employment Office in Charleston on many occasions and filed applications. He was told once that he was due to enter a welding training program soon; but the next time he went, he was told that there was no application in the files for him. This happened twice

and he was furious and desperate. A CYC worker went to work on his case and, after some fifteen phone calls, managed to locate and expedite his application. The problem had been one of communication. He had no phone and his neighbors had not been home when the crucial call came. This would have happened again had CYC not made its phone available as a backup and made sure that he got the word. He entered the training program as a result of CYC workers' efforts. Thus CYC workers came to be considered wizards at dealing with these matters. A constant demand soon came to be placed upon them as aides in tracking down lost applications, advising on employment matters, making appointments for young men and women at the Department of Employment Security, and so forth.

The employment people were cooperative and spared some of the less confident the psychological hazards of the bureaucratic machinery of their office by personalizing the service to them as much as possible. Three men were lined up for training programs and several others received temporary employment. Many others were unable to be placed due to a sheer lack of saleable skills; however, in their attitudes they came to show a greater degree of hope than previously and began to feel free to visit the employment office.

Not once in their visits to Dry Branch did the workers ask a person if they could help him in seeking a job. They came to the workers in such large numbers that they were unable to handle them adequately in their periodic visits to the hollow. The spontaneous and enthusiastic response convinced them that the majority of citizens were mistaken in believing that ". . . these people don't want to work. They'd rather be taken care of." They found this true of some, but the overwhelming majority, particularly in the age range fifteen to thirty, were not only willing but desperately anxious to work. They were not, however, unduly enthusiastic about jobs which netted them $35 to $40 per week for sixty and seventy hours of work.

When the workers had established themselves as something of a curiosity in the neighborhood, had won some friends, and had stimulated some thought along the lines of possible neighborhood improvement, it was decided to have a meeting. The question arose as to where it might be held. The school, a red brick, six-room facility with an auditorium, seemed too formal a setting and too hostile as well. People told the workers that they would never be able to obtain the use of it because of the principal's policy. Even the PTA had been refused the use of the auditorium on occasion. After talking to the principal and

finding that his attitude toward the neighborhood which he served was much as people had said, the workers did not press for use of the school. The identification with the school would obviously do them no good at that stage. They therefore rented a small building at the mouth of Dry Branch Hollow on the Cabin Creek hard road.

There were some advantages to the place. It rented for twenty dollars per month and, by knocking down a cardboard partition, could be made spacious enough for a meeting. It was also a familiar place to the youngsters since it had served as a teen-age hangout at one time. The CYC workers felt that the hard-to-reach element would feel at ease in the place even if the others might have to take a step down. There was also the consideration of CYC's image in the neighborhood. They might be counted as somewhat on the cheap side, but this might be better than being considered just one more "hand-out" program.

One disadvantage of the building was its physical condition. It was actually leaning on the house next door, but people assured the workers that this was nothing to worry about since this had been the case for years. But then, there was the advantage of a nearby spring where water could be obtained for cleaning.

Monday, September 30 was set as the date for the

first meeting. The workers now had been circulating about the neighborhood for over a month, off and on, but they were still very unsure of the image they created. In attempting to get some idea of the possible turnout, they couldn't get much help from the people. Some would say: "Won't nobody show up. These here people don't care for nothin'!" Others gave a more optimistic picture. Some felt there was sure to be a fight if the meeting was open to everyone in the neighborhood. But the meeting proceeded without a fight. More than ninety people showed up to pack the small office building. They were enthusiastic and argumentative and were filled with ideas for the betterment of the neighborhood. There were factions, particularly on the religious level, but there were things that these factions could agree on.

Meeting followed meeting in rapid succession over the next month and a half. Dry Branch formed a "Neighborhood Improvement Committee" and several youth committees: the "Athletic," the "Park and Playground," and the "Community Center." These committees met and drew up plans at various stages in their areas of interest and defended these plans at general community meetings. Enthusiasm grew and the role of the Neighborhood Worker became clearer. They came to be looked upon as a sort of a bridge between the hollow and the County's institutional framework. Here are some of the

ways in which this came about.

The overflow crowd at the first meeting made obvious the need for a larger hall in which to hold general community meetings. The school, therefore, came in for a second look. The neighborhood committees assured the workers that there was no use in trying. It was decided to approach the problem from both ends. A neighborhood worker would contact the principal, and the Assistant Director of CYC would contact the Superintendent of Schools. After more than a week of negotiating back and forth, permission was granted and the neighborhood was allowed to rent the auditorium for the standard fee of $6 for two hours. The principal went along after expressing some apprehension about the possibility of local people using school facilities without damaging them. This seemed to be the opinion of everyone contacted in the school system with the exception of one board member who had been reared near the area.

Community meetings were held in the school auditorium from then on. The school board member from the district was featured at the first meeting in the school; a recreation specialist from the Kanawha County Parks and Recreation Commission, at the second. Both were enthusiastically received. No damage was sustained by the school.

Many people seemed ill at ease in the school,

lacking, as it did, the shabby democracy of the original shack. None of the principal's forebodings were justified by the behavior of the people. Only a few attended under the influence of moonshine, and these behaved admirably well. The "hard-to-reach" youngsters would hang about outside the door or peer in the window until the meetings were over, then come in to socialize instead of taking part as they originally had.

Dry Branch and its committees became very busy. The Community Center Committee put on a "Hootenanny." The principal gave permission for use of the auditorium and showed some slight change of attitude. One member of the committee, without any urging from the workers, wrote to the Secretary of the State of West Virginia, to find out how the committees could form a corporation. The use of the gymnasium at a nearby Junior High School was obtained for a group of boys who wanted to form a Dry Branch basketball team. At the request of a committee, the workers arranged for use of a plot in a nearby bottom. The Parks and Recreation Commission offered advice for planning and staff for supervision in the summer. The Adult Education Office was contacted and managed to place one boy in a program of basic reading and writing and two others in testing programs. Several trips to the YMCA in Charleston at a cost of ten

cents per person were arranged and CYC provided transportation. This created a demand for similar events.

The Recreation Committee became engaged in research in the neighborhood. CYC provided them with recreation questionnaires and instructions for their use. They used these all over the neighborhood, computed the results and presented findings before a community meeting. They planned to provide facilities for preferred activities if possible.

The workers in the Dry Branch experiment discovered an unexpected supply of enthusiasm and local leadership in this, one of the most unlikely looking hollows in the County. These discoveries were transmitted to the administrative staff of CYC in Charleston and hence to the President's Committee in Washington and provided some critical guidelines to program proposals.

CHAPTER IV

ACTION FOR APPALACHIAN YOUTH

The action program proceeding from the work of the Charleston Youth Community was instituted on February 5, 1964 by a grant of $315,000. The money was partially supplied by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and partially by the Office of Manpower and Management of the Department of Labor. Under the grant the KEY program (Kanawha Employment for Youth) was set up essentially as planned (see Chapter II, Section VI). Under this program one hundred ninety-six trainees were handled as of December 11, 1964. The only other program funded was the Neighborhood Development segment. This segment has involved some sixteen neighborhoods to date. Four of these, representative of the four types of problem neighborhoods in the County, the inner-city, the farming, the former mining and the close-in, have been singled out for particular attention in this paper.

I. DONNALLY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD, AN INNER-CITY AREA

The Donnally Street Neighborhood is a large amorphous complex in the heart of downtown Charleston. Blighted

multi-family houses line the Elk River on one side, the railroad tracks on another and the steadily expanding downtown section on another. Within this roughly triangular area are some fifteen hundred families, perhaps three-fourths of them Negro, who subsist by performing many of the less glamorous tasks which the city demands. Women leave the area each morning to work as domestics; men as custodians, trashmen and dishwashers. Occasionally they leave to fill a more exalted function, perhaps as a school teacher, policeman, or office clerk. When they return to an area which has its own style of life and values, where prostitution is common place, where $225 per month (from work on the City's trash trucks) is a lordly sum and where bootlegging is a wide open, booming business.

When CYC first began to look the area over in the early days of research phase it seemed apparent that there was a great deal of unemployment. Men could be seen lounging around Court Street at any hour of the day or night. It was not until full-time neighborhood workers were assigned to the area that this impression was corrected. In March of 1964, two workers began the attempt to gain a foothold in the area. They shot pool in the local poolrooms, lounged around the City's playground and talked to people on the street, at the grocery, the barber shop or tavern. One of

the first things they discovered was that this initial impression was altogether false. There was, in fact, very little unemployment in the area. Most employment was marginal but almost everyone worked. The loafers at nine a.m. along Court Street were not the same men as the nine p.m. crowd. They were the night watchmen, after-hours custodians, the men and women who cleaned up the mess the city had made during the day. Many of the evening crowd were not residents of the area at all, but people from all over the city. For the Negro population, Court Street (or "C" Street as it was widely referred to) was the center of social life, a second downtown where whites were welcomed as visitors but knew they were visitors.

As the workers gained rapport with more and more people, they found that "the triangle" (as the area was referred to by Charlestonians) was not at all the simple homogeneous slum neighborhood that outsiders thought it to be. It was, in fact, not a neighborhood at all but an ecological grouping of many neighborhoods which had nothing whatever to do with each other. There was a stable, modest Negro residential area of long-time residents who wouldn't be seen on Court Street. There was the "C" Street section itself with its houses of prostitution, multi-family dwellings and rooming houses. There was Washington Manor,

a federal housing project neatly divided into two sections along racial lines, whose residents were generally at odds with the other populations. And there was a transient downtown white neighborhood gerrymandered along, but not integrated, with the southern edge of the section.

Many of the people in the Donnally Street area had lived there a long time and considered Charleston their home; some had come from the deeper South; many of the more recent arrivals moved into town from the mining areas of the state when squeezed out of work by mechanization. Most rented their homes or apartments through the agents of some of the most prominent old Charleston families who had once lived there themselves when it was a middle-classed neighborhood. They settled for the most part as strangers among strangers in a hostile environment determined to eke out a living in some way or other with as little interference as possible until they could move on to something better. They therefore failed to develop a sense of community spirit to any marked degree. The schools to which their children were sent lay outside of the neighborhood and so provided no center for community life. Two Baptist and three Holiness churches competed for the allegiance of souls; and, while most attested to religious affiliation, few attended regularly. The dominant sentiment in interpersonal

relationships which prevailed, and still prevails according to one neighborhood worker, is "take or be taken."

The Neighborhood Workers found that people did not like to be designated as residents of "the triangle" (a term which CYC naively used) and that "C" Street likewise had a bad connotation. They began therefore to refer to the area as the Donnally Street Neighborhood by which they hoped to include the entire Negro population at the least. On Donnally Street was the busy city playground which served the area with a swimming pool, basketball courts, horseshoe pits and a small Quonset hut for rainy day games and group meetings. This seemed a natural place to begin working toward the development of some community feeling.

Initial response to the workers' efforts was cool. People in the area were suspicious enough of each other; strangers were accorded surface civility and little more. The rapport which was so easy to establish in the rural areas kept eluding these men in the city environment even though they were Negroes themselves and men of considerable ability and wide experience. When they had identified themselves in the neighborhood to many of those who might be considered leaders and had informally contacted a cross-section of residents in public places, the workers decided to embark upon a house-to-house contact campaign. The plan

was to obtain basic data on the neighborhood which would be useful in the research phase of the program. This mission, it was hoped, would provide an entree into the homes of people who could not easily be contacted in public places. Eventually this plan had to be abandoned. The people were suspicious of door-to-door contacts of any kind from living in the city and being constantly subjected to that sort of thing. They couldn't believe that the stated purpose was the real one, that there were "no strings attached."

The workers started out with high hopes and great energy. They tried everything they knew to try but nothing seemed to work. They rented an office on Court Street and invited their growing number of friends in the area to use it for meetings. This never came about. They contacted the two homemakers clubs, the only non-religious social organizations in the area, and offered their help in contacting the City Parks and Recreation Commission to obtain improvements. This effort had little success and their services seemed redundant. Their constant efforts to find out what sort of neighborhood projects people might be interested in failed to turn up anything which evoked any real enthusiasm. Meetings were planned with groups of youths, and the young people seemed enthusiastic and promised to attend, but no one would show up. The

Neighborhood Workers became popular in the neighborhood, and the AAY project began to have a good name, especially after the Attorney General was escorted through the area by the workers, but no one became enthusiastic enough to participate in anything resembling neighborhood development activities. A general neighborhood meeting was scheduled for late in June and then postponed again and again since the feeling climate seemed all wrong.

During the long, frustrating summer, the workers kept trying to buoy up their own hope by any means whatever. Some of the entries in their journal covering the period are poignant. As the spring yielded to summer, the hope was expressed that now people would be more responsive because of the warmer weather. As summer yielded to fall, there was the hope that now that all the bustle of summer activities was at an end, it would be possible to get something accomplished. At one place the feeling was expressed that it had been a mistake to attempt to become too friendly, too soon, yet it was abundantly clear from other entries that the workers had established considerable rapport. People however were not responding as expected. The workers attempted to account for this in every way they could, e.g., insufficient personnel, wrong office location, weather, suspicion or moving too fast, but they never seemed to be

satisfied with any of their own explanations. One worker became discouraged in the middle of the summer and quit to return to the agency for which he had formerly worked.

Viewed in the perspective of the scale concept, the reason for failure may very well be none of those which the workers advanced. They all seemed inadequate explanations even to the workers themselves.

There is one substantial success in this otherwise bleak picture which gives us a clue to the reason, i.e., the favorable response to the KEY Program (Kanawha Employment for Youth) within the Donnally Street area. When this success is viewed alongside of the failure, the question becomes: Why did an institutionally oriented program directed toward employment succeed while a neighborhood oriented program failed? The following tentative conclusions are advanced:

1. The residents of the area maintain relative autonomy in the narrower relations within the neighborhood because they are oriented toward dependence upon and integration into the wider relations within the community and total society. They see any attempt to involve them in any form of neighborhood organization as an attempt to increase their dependence in the narrower relations. They therefore view this effort as an attempt to lower their scale on the

sociological level with concomitant loss of control of their situation of that level. They don't want a better neighborhood and they don't want to identify with the one they have or even to stay there.

2. The KEY program on the other hand is seen as a means of increasing control of the material environment in such a way that they can become even more autonomous within the neighborhood and eventually be integrated into the larger society.

3. The Neighborhood Development program did not fail in the Donnally Street area merely because of the racial composition of the population but due to the urban orientation of the people. This seems apparent in light of the considerable success among Negroes in other more rural neighborhoods.

4. Future programs designed to increase the scale of urban dwellers might have more success if applied on the level of individual, family or total community.

II. THE PEACH FORK NEIGHBORHOOD, A MARGINAL FARMING AREA

The Peach Fork area is located some forty-five miles from Charleston by road (about twenty-five as the crow flies) in the confusing tangle of ridges and bottoms above

the town of Clendenin, West Virginia. It embraces, by native concensus, some sixty families living along Peach Fork itself, Upper Falling Rock Creek, Morris Creek, Grass Lick and Dry Ridge. The people are hillside subsistence farmers for the most part of Scotch-Irish and English stock and have made their homes here for generations. In most cases they own their home-built houses and their rocky patches of land. Five of the families are supported by a regularly employed parent; six, by father on the ADCU ($1/hour) work program. The rest live on DPA grants, Miner's Pensions and Social Security. Many still work on the land to some extent and a few make moonshine to supplement their incomes. In age composition, the population tends to be older than most since many of the younger couples have moved out in search of better opportunities in the city. Most of those left, therefore, are elderly or late middle-aged or in the teenage category.

When a Neighborhood Worker from AAY first entered the area in July of 1964, she found an apathetic, suspicious, faction-ridden community which had little hope of improving its condition. It was the first time a female worker had been assigned to an area of this sort and AAY was anxious to see the result. This young, recent college graduate began going door to door and asking general introductory questions

about the area and its needs. She was received in the cultural pattern of the mountains, i.e., courteously but suspiciously at first. Men would not talk to her at all but would refer her to their wives, who made the acquaintance. Many of the families living on government grants were afraid that she was somehow going to find irregularities and cause the grant to be discontinued; others simply did not know how to deal with a woman who was educated and employed and who was not a neighbor and a housewife. It was a confusing situation for a while until the worker became well acquainted by dint of persistent effort. Eventually her unusual role was accepted as she came to be personally liked and the neighborhood decided to take her in charge. They resolved the problem of her presence by deciding that she needed to be protected, advised and looked after generally. She was frequently advised against driving back to Charleston after dark and urged to spend the night or stay to dinner. The Neighborhood's decision to meet the unusual situation by casting her in a dependent role, more or less as a younger member of their families, proved of advantage in many ways and allowed an unusual degree of rapport to be established.

The worker spent some five weeks establishing herself in the neighborhood overcoming suspicion and getting a feel

for the problems of the area. She found that the major problem felt by all the residents was the condition of the roads. The area could be reached from Clendenin by traversing some fifteen miles of torturous, twisting roads. This was the route which had to be covered to get to the doctor, to get to work if work could be found, to get to the market and to get the children to Junior High School and High School. During the winter, from November until the spring thaw, this road was virtually impassable except by jeeps and similar vehicles. As a consequence, people were unable to hold jobs, or to send their children to school or to avail themselves of the services available in the village. Everyone saw the problem as a hopeless one. The solution, to their minds, was either move away from their homes and property to a situation which they could hardly imagine or tolerate, or stay and accept what they had. No one saw the slightest possibility of getting the road improved for two reasons. Firstly, they didn't believe that the State Road Commission would pay any attention to their appeals and, secondly, they didn't believe that they could cooperate with their neighbors in any such undertaking. The first attitude rested upon long experience with government as a far-away impersonal force; the second, upon recent bitter experience in community cooperation. The only church

in the area, the fundamentalist oriented "Gospel Tabernacle," had recently closed its doors due to factional fights. This had been the history of the church, years of intermittent hopeful openings and bitter closings. The worker was assured that nothing could be done in the area because people could not possibly get along with each other. She nevertheless persisted in her own efforts to get along with everyone, moving carefully to avoid becoming identified too thoroughly with any one faction or clan. She felt she had to move slowly and to become well known to all members of the neighborhood before getting a meeting together which might break out in factional feuds.

The first meeting was held at the church and practically everyone showed up. The major problem brought up was the only one which people could agree upon, the road problem. The neighborhood worker noted at the time that every other idea brought up was either silenced or ignored by the other participants and that there was a great deal of hesitancy in expression of opinion of any sort. Interaction before and after the meeting was lively and productive; but during the meeting, most people maintained a passive role. Very little leadership was seen to emerge. The people seemed to like the meetings, however, as an excuse to get together, so they continued every Friday night at the church

house, and eventually were productive of a plan of action to attempt to solve the road problem. People decided to confront the State Road Commission and see if they could not get their roads graded and given a gravel base with adequate drainage.

It was decided to send delegations to the State Road Commission to see what could be done, a carload a day, for five days. The reception which the people received was encouraging and the man responsible for their roads promised to visit and make a personal survey of the situation. He also promised to attend a meeting but became lost in the maze of unmarked roads and didn't arrive until long after the meeting had adjourned. His failure to show up for the meeting occasioned some bitterness and discouragement but by this time the neighborhood had evolved some other ideas upon which to focus community effort.

The Neighborhood Worker and her supervisor had been planting the seeds of ideas at all of the meetings by telling the people what some other neighborhoods were doing. One idea in particular took hold and brought about a broad concensus among the women in the neighborhood. A co-worker, who had an extensive knowledge of the local farming culture and its history, started a conversation at one of the meetings about the way people used to get together in the

fall and make apple butter in a copper kettle over an open fire. Some of the participants in the meeting recalled their own memories of the custom; another boasted that she still had a copper kettle; another had apples that were going to waste. It was decided that the ladies would get together and make apple butter instead of having a regular meeting the next week and sell it to raise money for the organization. The Neighborhood Worker encouraged the idea by promising to get labels printed at her office in Charleston and to ask the newspapers to make an appeal for jars.

The idea of the apple butter-making project proved to be a turning point in the Peach Fork operation. The peeling and stirring and gathering of fire-wood replaced the awkward formal meetings in the church house where people felt they couldn't speak up. As each batch of apple butter was "stirred off" the women's ambition and confidence grew. Factional fights and individual differences were forgotten in the enjoyment of reviving the long disused custom. People began to plan other activities which they could enjoy together when the apples were gone and to discuss various ways of spending the money they would make. It was here at the copper kettle that they decided to build a community center where they could gather for meetings and projects and where they could sponsor activities for their children.

The idea of the community center has provided a spark to the community's effort from that time on and has inspired the following developments:

1. The girls have formed a task-oriented club in imitation of their mothers: "The Peach Fork Junior Women's Club." They have already held a very successful carnival at the one-room schoolhouse, the first such activity in the neighborhood in many years.

2. The boys have formed a loose federation in the imitation of their sisters and in anticipation of the community center. The boys are primarily basketball oriented at this time of year and have already constructed a court and made arrangements to play some of the other neighborhoods with AAY sponsored organizations.

3. The neighborhood men have formed a legal corporation under a State Charter. This move was made necessary because land needed to be leased from the Hope Natural Gas Company. The men have made arrangements to tear down some old mine-owned houses and use the lumber for the center. Their plans for the center include a ball diamond, library, playground, park and community meeting house.

4. The Neighborhood Worker is kept busy seeking markets for the apple butter and for the aprons which the women plan to make during the winter months.

The atmosphere in the Peach Fork area is radically changed. Neighbors are cooperating and enjoying a feeling of community pride which they have not had for years. Their solid accomplishments are not great, but their hope is high. The road is being graded and a promise of rock base and drainage has been extracted from the State Road Commission. Their community center is not visible as yet, but some real action is being taken to make it a reality. One hundred seventy-five pints of apple butter have been put up, a pie social is in the planning stages, and the neighborhood is operating its own organization under its own leadership with a growing treasury and a growing pride.

III. THE BLUE-BELLE CREEK NEIGHBORHOOD, A FORMER MINING AREA

This remote, mountain fastness at the headwaters of Blue Creek and Belle Creek includes several small settlements, Blakeley, Hitop, Laurel Fork, Pond Gap, and Spangler. It is an area characterized by deep ridges, steep hollows, and grinding poverty. From Charleston, West Virginia, the County seat, it is reached by proceeding east twenty miles up the Kanawha River and then traveling north from the village of Cedar Grove some ten miles up Kelly's Creek. The Kelly's Creek area was at one time one of the very

largest producers of soft coal and the route up its course is full of reminders of this relatively recent past, abandoned coal tipples and rotting company houses and stores. Trains still rumble down Kelly's Creek loaded with coal, but it is coal produced largely by mechanized mines.

The Blue-Belle Creek area itself hasn't known any mining actively since 1950, when the High Vein Coal Company at Hitop closed its doors due to the pressure of more mechanized competition. The area had been one of the earliest coal mining areas in West Virginia and one of the most prosperous. Opened up in 1908 by the Blue Creek Coal and Land Company, it boomed through the years of World War I and through the 1920's until the depression hit. The Strange-Eliot Coal Company went bankrupt in 1932 putting one hundred fifty men out of work. In 1933 the big blow fell with the bankruptcy of the Blue Creek Coal and Land Company's closing four mines and eliminating some six hundred jobs. The Amelia Coal Company struggled on for another two years by paying near starvation wages to coal loaders (fifteen cents per ton, or about two dollars per day). During the World War II there was a slight pick-up of activity, creating about one hundred twenty-five jobs. Since 1950, however, there has been virtually no employment opportunity for coal mines. At present, only ten to fifteen local men

are employed in the two mechanized mines of the Union Carbide Chemical Corporation.

Many of the 530 people who remain in the area have had their roots there for four or five generations. They are the descendants of the original Scotch-Irish settlers of the area, the rugged hillside farmers. It is their home and few want to move out, even though the area lacks virtually all of those conveniences and services considered as necessary in modern society. Trash is dumped in the creek or piled along the roads. There is no public transportation, no supervised recreation for children, no police protection unless called in on an emergency basis, no doctor within fifteen miles, and very scant means of livelihood.

Approximately seventy per cent of the population depends upon some form of public assistance. Those who do work usually do so on a part-time seasonal basis. They pick up a little money helping out at one of the sawmills or cutting brush or hand-loading coal in one of the non-union "punch" mines. Some gather ginseng roots, a commodity valuable to the Chinese for warding off evil spirits. Some make moonshine. Almost all work on old cars, patching them up to use or sell. There is active informal trading of cars, dogs, and guns. This is the economy.

This was the situation which the CBS Television

Network presented to the Nation on the Walter Cronkite news program in the winter of 1964. CBS had become interested in the County when the demonstration grant was awarded to AAY and poverty became a by-word under the Johnson Administration. The invasion of the CBS crew accompanied by an AAY representative and the National Guard drivers in the middle of winter had a profound effect upon the Blue-Belle Creek area, almost a tragic effect. It took some extremely skillful work on the part of a couple of Neighborhood Workers to turn the near tragedy into a triumph.

It was about a month after the telecast when the first Neighborhood Worker agreed to be assigned to the area on a full-time basis. He found strong but mixed feelings among the people. Many of the older people were deeply hurt and ashamed at having their plight paraded before the world. Hearing their own voices repeated back from the television was a shock. They were forced to see themselves and hear themselves as others saw and heard them. Many others, particularly in the younger age ranges, felt that the show was fair though something less than polite. The children, of course, were delighted. The worker was not hurt too badly by the publicity AAY had thus received. The really critical effect was upon the big land owners in the area. For years they and their Chamber of Commerce friends had

been trying to improve the public image of West Virginia. This the telecast did not help. It did in fact put the owner of the land and houses in Blakeley on the spot. The citizenry of Charleston were appalled to find that such conditions existed so close to home, and especially that this would be the image projected across the nation.

Soon after the worker entered the area and began to get acquainted, he was faced with persistent rumors that the entire village of Blakeley was to be torn down. People were stunned with worry. They didn't know where to go or what to do. Used to paying ten to fifteen dollars a month for their coal camp houses, they were shocked to discover that they would have to pay forty or fifty in other areas for accommodations which weren't much better. Soon eviction notices began to appear. They would have to get out. If they wanted, they could take their houses along.

The official reason given for the mass evictions was that the Kelly's Creek Fuel Company was about to begin a strip-mining operation in the area and the inhabitants of Blakeley would be endangered by the blasting. This news was met with universal disbelief. All the men had been coal miners and they knew these seams like the backs of their hands. They couldn't imagine how any economically feasible operation could be launched in the ridges surrounding Blakeley.

The first Neighborhood Worker had gained the confidence of people sufficiently to call a meeting for May 13, 1964, at the Pond Gap Church. The relocation problem was the primary problem presented at the meeting. Luckily AAY had obtained by this time a Neighborhood Worker who had been a coal operator himself. He was introduced to the people at the meeting and promptly called for a committee of citizens to help him look into the problem. Five women were elected to a committee. It was unusual to move this fast toward organization, but the pressing conditions seemed to justify it. The people had been panicky and extremely emotional over this issue, but by the end of the meeting they were discussing the problem more rationally and beginning to develop some direction.

During the week following this initial meeting, plans were formulated further by the committee of women and the Neighborhood Worker. It was decided that the Neighborhood Worker should have an exploratory meeting with the owner of the land. This meeting took place the last week in May. In many ways this was a discouraging meeting. There appeared to be no chance that the move might be stalled. The Neighborhood Worker came away convinced, however, that the reason behind the proposed move was the bad publicity rather than any serious intention to begin mining operations.

He had found the owner fair and willing to listen, but firmly determined to eliminate Blakeley from the map. He had agreed, however, to meet with the committee and let them tell him their story.

Careful planning went into the meeting of the women's committee from Blakeley and the owner of the land. Logical arguments were mustered and mastered for the occasion and emotional content kept to a minimum. On May 25 in Cedar Grove the ladies met with the land owner and the coal operator. They came away with a couple of new friends and a promise that the relocation would be put off indefinitely. It was the first time that the community had taken effective joint action.

Rumor of the victory swept up the hollows and ridges and packed the next meeting with enthusiastic, confident people ready to tackle anything. The morose resignation and bitterness of previous weeks was gone. In its place were bright new ideas for the building of a real community. The people wanted to tackle the Kanawha County School Board next, then the West Virginia State Road Commission. They wanted to build a park, hold a fair, start a kindergarten, fix up their houses and clean up the trash. The Neighborhood Worker found himself now in the position of counseling some caution and sound planning.

The people had taken a major step toward control of their environment through united action; confidence was high and the skeptics were won over to a man. It was felt that this would be the time to move toward organization within a more formal framework. The Blue-Belle Creek Community Development Association was therefore formed. Officers were elected early in June and a steering committee formed of one representative from each of the villages in the area. A certificate of incorporation was obtained, designating the organization as a non-profit, state-chartered legal entity. Armed with, and emboldened by, this formal recognition, the officers decided to make contact with the Kanawha County School Administration.

The school situation in the area was something less than ideal. Two grade schools served the area, a two-room one at Blakeley and a one-room school at Laurel Fork. The Blakeley School had been featured on the CBS telecast in a none too favorable light; now both schools were earmarked for destruction. Children would have to be bussed to the Ward School some five miles distant. It would be necessary for them to meet the bus at Hitop, which would involve a walk of from one mile to as much as four miles for most children. In the winter time when the roads were covered with snow or clogged with mud, this trip would be out of the

question for most children, particularly since formal education was not a prime value in their home. Those living over two miles from the bus stop would not be required to attend school. The net effect would therefore be that the school administration would be saved the embarrassment of having its sub-standard schools paraded before the world by failing to provide any schooling at all, and the children would happily remain at home and romp in the woods. They had reckoned without the new spirit which prevailed in the community.

Initial contacts with the school administration and the School Board failed to make a dent in the official iron curtain of high level secrecy. Everything was rumors. It was hard to fight because it was nearly impossible to find out who was making the decisions or even what the decisions were. The officers were persistent, however, and eventually by virtue of breaking into offices unannounced and demanding answers, they were able to make some headway. The conflict almost became physical at several points but cool heads prevailed and a compromise was reached only one week before school was scheduled to reconvene. The Laurel Fork School would stay until the road could be repaired sufficiently to allow the school bus to reach the area. The Blakeley School would be removed but the school bus route would be

extended from Hitop over the ridge to Spangler and beyond, thus putting most children within easier range. The community wanted to retain the school building at Blakeley for an activity center but were thwarted in this. The building was torn down.

The conflict with the schools automatically involved the State Road Commission because one of the problems was the fact that most of the roads in the area were inadequate to handle the school busses. During the course of the summer, therefore, a second prong of the attack was being leveled at the State Road Commission. Citizens wrote to the commission head, to the Governor, and to the Congressmen and Senators in Washington. To date this has had limited effect beyond surveys of the situation and promises.

To meet the need for recreational facilities in the area, the standing committee and the officers began to evolve an ambitious plan for comprehensive community park. Since the only flat land in the area suitable for this purpose was owned by the Union Carbide Chemical Corporation, this company began to have callers from the organization. The Company was not unwilling to cooperate, but was not enthusiastic either. It was a strange new situation to the Company for the people in this area to show so much ambition. Since they were not actually turned down, however, the

organization decided to forge ahead just as confidently as if they had received a definite "yes." They built picnic tables out of lumber which they solicited from some local lumber yards and drew up blueprints of their dream park. They planned money-raising functions to finance the park and it was at one of these that they got the break for which they were waiting.

The Association promoted a weiner roast in late July and invited the District Supervisor of the Carbide mines as a special guest. The affair was held across the road from the land which the Association wanted to lease from the Company and the newly built picnic tables were prominently displayed. Over three hundred people showed up. The Supervisor was impressed. He made a personal donation to the Association's work and promised to support their cause with his Company. At the next outdoor function, the Company was involved in the planning to the extent of providing a generator to light the grounds. Soon the word to proceed came from the Company, and even though the lease has not yet been officially granted, the Association began tackling the job of clearing the land and leveling it off. Through contacts with the West Virginia Department of Welfare, a number of workers from the ADCU program are now at work full time on the project under the supervision of a local

man who has volunteered his time. Merchants and businessmen in the County have been generous in their support and donations. Building supplies and tools have been solicited and obtained. The power company plan to help the community with the lighting and some doctors in Charleston have promised a swimming pool. The original plans for basketball and baseball facilities and a complete picnic area have been further enlarged to envision facilities for fishing, camping and bridle trails to attract a lively tourist trade from the urban areas of the County.

It was an active summer in the Blue-Belle Creek area. The Neighborhood Worker who had been operating from his truck now has a field office near Hitop, an abandoned company store which serves for meetings and a recreation center for children in the area. During the summer some college students operated a kindergarten in the building. A Women's Auxiliary which was organized late in the summer met there with home demonstration agents for handicraft displays. Over one hundred gallons of paint, donated by a Charleston firm, is being distributed from the field office to any one in the area who needs it. The old company houses which had been a uniformly dismal gray now gleam with new colors, light greens and blues and pastel pinks, as people compete to clean up and brighten their homes.

It was a summer capped with unusual and, to the children, marvelous activities: a trip to a baseball game sponsored by the coal operator who so recently planned to eliminate Blakeley, a trip by the Women's Auxiliary to a county-wide demonstration meeting, and a trip to the zoo for the kindergarten children. The real climax of the summer, however, came with the Blue-Belle Creek Fair. Nothing like it had ever been seen in the area. There were sack races, and a greasy pig chase, cake walks, craft displays, an auction, gospel singing, a horseshoe tournament and many other events in which over six hundred people took part and which raised almost $900 for the proposed park. "Miss Blue-Belle" was crowned and began her reign over a radically changed community.

The Neighborhood Worker sees the most remarkable change in the radically revised patterns of communications. Communications, he sees in fact, as the key to successful operation in an area of this sort, and he points to some dramatic evidence for his view. He tells about the land owner who had been afraid to visit the area for fear of being shot by some of his tenants who had the reputation of being resentful and violent. He was amazed to be confronted by a very civil committee seeking to work out differences amicably. Since this confrontation, he has become a frequent

visitor to the area and one of the staunchest supporters of the community's efforts to improve its situation. He knows and is known by most of the people who live on his land and is able to interact with them on a friendly basis. The idea of the summer kindergarten appealed to him particularly and his frequent presence there as an observer endeared him to the parents and gave the children a sense of the importance of the project. The people who had formerly had no forum for the discussion of community problems now interact with each other confidently and openly to seek solutions to a broad range of problems, and they have fun and a new sense of purpose in doing so. Their organization gives them a means of communication with the institutional framework of the larger society of which they are now a potent part. They felt confident enough and proud enough to send President Johnson a special invitation to their fair and, even though the President politely declined, the people were surprised and happy to receive an answer.

IV. THE CHANDLER'S DRIVE NEIGHBORHOOD, A CLOSE-HOLLOW

Chandler's Drive is a hollow area within the city limits of Charleston, West Virginia, at the intersection of the Chandler's Branch Road and Route 21, in the northwest

section of the city. While it is politically an integral part of Charleston, in many economic, social and cultural characteristics it is unique. The delinquency problem as evidenced in court records first drew the attention of CYC to the area. One probation officer said that it was the only area in the city which he would not enter.

Some one thousand people live along the road which runs to the head of the hollow or on the steep hillsides and ridges. It is a horseshoe-shaped, fairly densely populated area of low to medium income families, generally of Scotch-Irish or English stock, most of whom can trace their family's origins back to the hillside farm or dissipated coal mining areas of the State. Many people moved into the area because of its closeness to the city where employment possibilities existed. Later a group came in by order of the police, having been moved off of shanty boats in Kanawha River. The oldest families had been engaged in farming the hillsides of Chandler's Branch itself until the density of population made this impossible.

The diversity of origins and values and styles of life is evident in the variety of housing, care of lawns and children, and styles of life. Seventy per cent of the houses in the area are valued at less than $5,000 and the income of the 410 men work force varies from zero to $3,000

with a few exceptions. These figures, however, do not sufficiently highlight the contrast of modest, well-kept frame houses in the lower hollow or along the main road to the shanties which line the ridge tops. One of the earliest CYC observers in the area noticed that the scale of values for housing location was in inverse relation to the rest of Charleston where the finest homes were found on the ridges and hillsides and the poorer in the crowded valley space. The rates of delinquency, school dropouts, dependency, likewise was found to rise with the elevation of the land.

Although the neighborhood was well defined by geography, this diversity in values and styles of life of people within the hollow was one of the greatest problems which the Neighborhood Worker had to face when he entered the area in March of 1964. The worker selected for the area was a former college football player, a former school teacher, and had been involved in managing "hot-rod" clubs in New Mexico. He did not find great difficulty in getting acquainted and in establishing rapport, especially with the local teenage boys, due to their interest in cars and in sports. During the months of March and April he became a valuable member of the community by helping with automotive problems, lining up applicants for the KEY (Kanawha Employment for Youth) program, and finding part-time jobs for some

boys. He did not, however, find much enthusiasm for any sort of move toward a community meeting or eventual organization. When he had become acquainted all over the area and had a good idea of the problems facing people there, he set about stirring up interest in a meeting. Radio and TV announcements were utilized; 350 brochures were distributed, the school at the mouth of the hollow was obtained for the meeting, and speakers on employment and community development were scheduled. Although most people promised to attend, when the night came attendance was very poor and a strained and suspicious atmosphere prevailed. There was one community problem, however, which came to light in the meeting and stimulated minimal enthusiasm. This was the problem of recreation and more specifically the problem of the community's playground. This playground represented a recent failure and was a touchy subject. Some two years before, the city of Charleston had provided a playground and community center at the head of Chandler's Drive. There were basketball courts, a softball diamond, swings, and a building for indoor activities. There had been tournaments and social affairs and activities for all ages which had provided a center of community interest. Vandals from within the neighborhood had destroyed this center in a series of extremely savage attacks. They not only tore down

outside facilities, but they turned on the building itself and did not stop with breaking windows but smashed sinks and toilets, ripped window frames out and even tore large holes in the cement block walls and in the roof. The city, of course, suspended operations and had no intentions of reopening the center. People at this first meeting reminisced about the center and wished it could be restored. A suggestion was made that the next meeting be outdoors at the site of the community center. This met with approval since it was May and the weather was favorable, and a group of the teenage boys at the meeting agreed to clean up the area. Some of these boys, as the Neighborhood Worker later discovered, were the same ones who had destroyed the center in the first place.

At the outdoors meeting the next week more than fifty people showed up. They looked over the wrecked recreation area and engaged in conversations about ways and means of restoring it to use of the community. There was little hope that the city could ever be prevailed upon to reopen it, but it seemed possible that the neighborhood itself might be able to repair it and run it. The youngsters were willing to help and there were carpenters and stone masons in the hollow.

It was at this meeting also that another community

sore point was brought to light. This second problem was the road from the head of the hollow to Edgewood Drive, the upper middle class residential area on the other side of the ridge. This road had at one time provided a very considerable short cut to the downtown section of Charleston where most of the Junior and Senior High School students went to school. It had been sealed off by the city years before, for reasons which weren't too clear. Its opening would be a great convenience to the neighborhood and would provide more efficient fire protection, but to date they had taken no action to seek its opening or even to find out the reasons for closing.

The Neighborhood Worker's constant insistence on the ability of the neighborhood to do something about its problems through joint action was beginning to stir some thought along organizational lines. At the third meeting there was considerable sentiment toward getting an organization established to deal with these and other problems.

In the weeks following a council type of organization came to be established, "The Council for the Betterment of Chandler's Drive." The council consisted of eleven members and two alternates and represented the various elements of the community which had been regular in attendance at meetings. Unfortunately, the population on the ridge, those

in the lowest economic and social status, was not well represented and apparently had little interest in the organization. Enthusiasm generally grew throughout the area, however, and the confidence of the council in handling their own affairs was steadily enhanced. Some of the council's accomplishments during the summer and fall are summarized below.

1. Through the use of volunteer labor from the neighborhood, the playground was greatly improved during the spring. There followed a series of meetings with the Charleston Parks and Recreation Commission in which an agreement was reached whereby the neighborhood would restore the building and grounds to workable condition. At that time the commission would take over and operate a year-round program. Some difficulties were encountered along the way. Rotten beams were discovered in the community center by the building inspector which made more extensive repairs necessary than the neighborhood could afford. The city has decided at this time not only to restore the building to its former state, but to greatly improve and enlarge it. The city now operates the playground program.

2. The neighborhood organization presented a petition to the city council requesting the reopening of the road to Edgewood Drive. No action has been taken to date,

but the petition apparently has considerable support in the city council.

3. A weekly newsletter has been published each week by the neighborhood council and provides a valuable means of communication within the area.

4. Pie socials, buffets, and hot dog suppers have been held and more are planned for the future.

5. Through contacts with the school administration the neighborhood has arranged for the school bus, originally scheduled to stop at the mouth of the hollow, to come to the head of the hollow to pick up children. The street department had been prevailed upon to provide a turn-around there.

6. A basketball team has been organized to play in the city league.

7. A women's club is planned when the city completes renovation of the community center.

The neighborhood organization has come to be an integral part of the lives of most of the people of Chandler's Drive. Exceptions are still those people who live on the ridge top, the lowest socio-economic class. Special efforts have been made to involve them by the Neighborhood Worker and by the council but no really substantial progress has been made to date. For example, a

special invitation was made on the ridge for people there to attend a free hot dog supper at the playground. Several children from the ridge showed up to bashfully accept the hot dogs, but they did not stay to participate in the scheduled events. They took the hot dogs home and ate them there. The Neighborhood Worker has not given up, however. He has involved a fundamentalist minister on the ridge as a member of the council, and he plans to establish his office on the ridge in spite of the inconvenience to those who are already involved and active.

The successful neighborhood organization's effort in Chandler's Drive area seems to point to several conclusions:

1. Neighborhood organizations can be useful in relatively isolated areas of a city as well as in rural areas, particularly in increasing the scale of the neighborhood on the sociological level in relation to the rest of the city, i.e., the neighborhood's ability to interact as equals with the institutional framework of the city.

2. The greater suspiciousness, insecurity, and lack of community feeling in these areas require some special techniques in establishing rapport and bringing about enthusiasm for joint action.

3. The council type, more informal organizations might be seen as more appropriate than the incorporated

organization with officers in this type of area. This seems to be the concensus of opinion of those involved in the Chandler's Drive organization; however, a conclusion on this point should wait until data have been gathered on similar neighborhoods with different organizational structures.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The nature of the AAY program makes general statements regarding success or failure difficult, if not impossible at this time. This is due to the fact that any real change which may happen will become evident only after a thorough re-orientation of goals and value of the disadvantaged population involved. AAY has not attempted to manipulate these goals and values from the outside but to establish a climate for change. AAY has not attempted to dictate the direction of this change, and therefore the goals of the project are necessarily vague. Until the neighborhoods and individuals involved in the program evolve their own goals, AAY must limit itself to the building of a dynamic pattern of interaction in the neighborhoods and in bridging the gap between them and the community at large.

The greatest disadvantage to such a program arises from the desire to see some fast progress which can be chartered and evaluated within the value system of the larger community. This is not only a disadvantage but a danger. Impatience tends to build pressure for fast progress and progress must have a direction. Since the direction is only imperfectly formed within the neighborhoods, the directions then tend to come from outside. When

this happens a new form of dependency is created and the whole object is defeated. The neighborhoods slip into a new ennui and the efforts of workers become directed toward trying to sell programs to people designed by outsiders and frequently only valued by outsiders.

The progress in the neighborhoods is marked by a new atmosphere of confidence and hope which is evident to those who have visited in these areas. To those who feel that hopeful people can create a more hopeful world, this is sufficient evidence of success.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

RATIONALE FOR INDICES OF THE TWELVE CORRELATES OF SCALE

In selecting indices for the twelve criteria from which scale is derived, several considerations have been weighed. The index selected is one which can be applied in all of the neighborhoods which are to be compared. For most of the twelve criteria, many factors could lend themselves to measurement and eventual standardization into scale. The index which has been selected, by reason of its close relationship and inter-dependence with other factors, yields the best prospect of reflecting the total situation.

The index selected is one for which information is readily available and which can be derived as simply and speedily as possible, consistent with the dual objectives of universal applicability and meaningful reflection of the total situation. As far as possible, these indices have been selected which avoid arousing regional and parochial prejudices (especially when interviewing is involved).

A. TECHNOLOGICAL LEVEL (Amount of control of a household over its environment)

1. Technological Development:

Participant observation revealed that the first place where technological development was likely

to be evidenced by families in this area was in the kitchen. A family obtaining an automatic cook-stove finds itself in a somewhat better position of controlling the physical environment than it had when the daily chore of cooking was done on a wood stove. Time does not have to be spent cutting and drying tinder and results are more dependable and nutritious. Similarly, an advance to an automatic washer eliminates much of the drudgery of hand-agitating and rinsing. An automatic refrigerator, by the same token, allows the family a greater variety of food over a longer period of time. Many other indices could be designed to indicate similar household advances in control of physical environment but these are usually found to be highly correlated to those we have already mentioned, e.g., waste-disposal devices, amount of electricity or gas used, and automatic lighting and heating devices.
The use of these devices, in addition to their inherent worth for controlling physical environment, involve a supply of parts and services and often financing from the total community, thereby increasing the range of a family's interdependence. For the purpose of the index, gas and electricity

were considered to be equal. Neither was seen to have a particular advantage over the other, their respective use depending largely upon availability. Values were assigned as follows in equal-appearing intervals of one.

Kitchen Check List (Item 3 on the Household Schedule)

Cook Stove:	Value
Wood or coal	1
Non-automatic gas or electric	2
Automatic gas or electric	3

Washer:	Value
Wringer type	1
Automatic washer	2
Automatic washer and dryer	3

Refrigerator:	Value
Refrigerator	1
Freezer combination	2
Refrigerator and freezer	3

2. Occupational Specialization:

In establishing an index for the family, variety of occupation does not figure as prominently as level of occupation. Variety will be considered in establishing scale for neighborhoods and communities.

It is assumed in establishing this index that the more highly skilled and specialized the head of the household, the more capable he is in manipulating

his physical environment and the wider the range of his interdependence on the total community. For example, a skilled machine operator in a mining community produces more coal than a low-skilled man in the same mine. In addition, his occupation involves the use of goods and services from outside of his immediate environment.

Values are assigned to the occupation of the head of the household in a range from one to five on the basis of Kahl's five-class system.[1] Like Kahl, ranking is assigned to the occupation in accordance with the system established by North and Hatt.[2] In order to make the code correlate positively to scale, the numerical values adopted by Kahl have been reversed as follows:

North-Hatt Ranks	Description	Kahl's Code	Scale Index
1-23	Professional	0	5
24-36	Semi-Professional	1	4
37-60	Skilled Worker	2	3
61-77	Semi-Skilled Worker	3	2
78-90	Unskilled	4	1

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[1]Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957).

[2]Cecil C. North and Paul Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, September, 1947, pp. 3-13.

3. Extent of Transportation Development:

It was decided that the easiest and more accurate yardstick in this case would be:

$$\frac{\text{Number of passenger cars or pick-up trucks}}{\text{household}}$$

This index would reflect the relative ability of people to hold jobs in other areas, to obtain goods and services from more variegated sources, and to come into contact with different methods of environmental manipulation.

Pick-up trucks were not given more weight than passenger automobiles because their primary advantage, i.e., that of heavy hauling, is largely equalized throughout the area by free delivery of goods by retailers. The advantage that remains is that of freedom of movement for more members of the same household. This can be supplied by either a passenger car or a pick-up on a fairly equal basis. Automobile ownership, mileage driven yearly, and make and model of car were considered to be related closely enough to index that they would not reflect significant differences in scale. Status symbolism is not a factor for consideration in this particular criterion.

To round out a picture of transportation development, it was considered necessary to take account of accessibility. The scale of a household was seen to be related significantly to the type of road to which it has access. Access was defined as no more than one-fourth of a mile from a point of entry onto the road. The roads found in the country were classified by the following standards from Bureau of Public Roads, U.S. Department of Commerce. Values assigned were derived from observations by community analysts regarding the relative efficiency of these roads.

	Value
Four lane highway (limited access)	10
Four lane highway (paved)	8
Two lane highway (paved)	7
One lane highway (paved)	5
Stabilized Road (gravel--all weather)	4
Non-Stabilized Road (unimproved)	2
Path	1

4. Extent of Use of Science:

It was assumed that as use of science increases, magical thinking decreases. By magical thinking is meant the assumption by persons, groups, or societies of an absolute association between factors not absolutely associated in reality, e.g., the association of lines in a person's hand to the future

course of his life.

It was further assumed that since magical thinking limited the empirical observation of reality so necessary to effective manipulation of environment, a determination of the degree of magical thinking would give an adequate negative index to the use of science in any given group.

Thirteen questions were decided upon for use in the household schedule. These questions were, in part, adapted from a list of thirty used by Nixon in his study of attitudes of college students. Twenty questions were selected for pre-testing which were concerned with subjects easily understood by a wide range of residents in Kanawha County. Wording was changed and questions were added or deleted to make the list conform as closely as possible to the local idiom and frames of reference. As a result of pre-testing, seven of these twenty questions were dropped from the list because they were too obvious and therefore failed to distinguish effectively from group to group.

B. SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL (Autonomy among people)

An increase in scale is seen to correlate with a decrease in dependence upon persons in the narrower

relationship of family and neighbor and an increase in dependence upon the wider relationships of the total community. "Autonomy" is used to avoid the emotion-laden connotations of such words as "freedom" and "equality."

1. Impersonality:

   To establish an index for this correlate of scale it was necessary to find some means of determining the range of the ability of the head of the household to identify with other individuals. It was assumed that the more persons a man was able to identify with, the less personal would be his relationship with a single individual and therefore the less restrictions he would have from a single individual, family or neighborhood. We further assumed that any social interaction involves some identification; therefore, the wider the range of social interaction, the more impersonality, the greater the autonomy and the larger the scale in that respect. It was decided to ask each household head: "Not counting your family, how many different people do you talk to during the course of an average week other than just to say 'hello.'" This was found, in pre-tests of the household schedule, to distinguish better than questions involving

greater degrees of identity, e.g., people you would have to dinner or people you would invite to spend the night. Such questions involved the interviewee in consideration of too many practical limitations such as room for entertaining or accommodating friends.

2. Social Mobility:

The larger the number of groups with which the individual can interact freely, the less he is dependent upon a single group and, therefore, the greater his opportunity to be useful and creative in a wide range of activities. An index was derived for internal social mobility by asking the head of the household: "In how many social gatherings in this neighborhood would you feel at home?" The interviewee was given the choice of answering: "None, few, half, most or all." This gives a range 1-5. A similar question was asked with the County as a reference in order to appraise external mobility.

Absolute accuracy in response was not considered as necessary as accurate reflection of attitude. The feeling of autonomy was seen as the essential thing. Actual variety of contact is to be scaled on the ideological level.

3. Social Pressure:

The family with a greater range of association is less dependent upon any single group and is therefore more autonomous and larger in scale. Likewise, the family with greater influence in the community is more at liberty in their interactions, more able to effect changes and larger in scale. A family which only belongs to the church is influenced by the church more than a family which also has associations in the P.T.A., Labor Union, and Rod and Gun Club. Autonomy is less limited by some particular group.

An index is derived with reference to:

1. Rank of a family's influence in the neighborhood;
2. Number of formal organizations the family belongs to;
3. Number of informal organizations.

4. Economic Cooperation:

In the economic sphere, the same principles of autonomy were seen to apply; that is, the more dependent a family is in the narrower range of relations in the neighborhood, the less its autonomy and the lower its scale.

In order to arrive at an index for internal economic

cooperation, respondents were asked to give the number of people in the neighborhood with whom they borrow or share things such as tools, things from the garden, sugar, rides to town, etc. Money was not mentioned because sensitivity in this area was noted by participant observation. It was felt that this sensitivity would prejudice the value of the response. Respondents were further asked to say what part of the total neighborhood this number would be in terms of a 1-5 breakdown: None, Few, Half, or All.

To judge the degree of interdependence in the narrower range in relation to the total picture, it was seen as necessary to find an index for external economic cooperation. It was decided to ask the head of the household where he bought most of the groceries. All families need to buy groceries; since there is very little subsistence farming in the County, it was therefore an item which would be comparable in all neighborhoods. It was assumed that if a person bought groceries outside of his neighborhood, he would be more inclined to buy other items outside as well. He would therefore be more interdependent in the wider range of

relationship, less interdependent in the neighborhood, more autonomous and larger in scale.

C. IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL (The variety of ideas which influence a household)

It is assumed on this level that the more a household comes into contact with varying ideas, the more alternatives it has for extending its control over the situation in which it finds itself. Since scale is an indication of the degree to which a family controls its situation, the degree to which a family becomes exposed to a variety of ideas is seen as a correlate of scale.

1. Communication of Ideas:

A ready index comparable from household to household and neighborhood to neighborhood was found in the variety of material read regularly in the home. Respondents were queried specifically regarding periodicals, newspapers and bulletins. It was assumed that those households showing a wide range of variety in this respect could be expected to avail themselves of other media of communication as well since such variety must presume a wide range of curiosity which would seek satisfaction wherever it might be available, whether at work or school, or in the community at large.

2. Identification with Others:

Since identification involves interaction and interaction involves exchange of ideas, heads of households were asked how many people they were personally acquainted with. To see what degree of intensity this involved, they were also asked how many of these they would have over to their house. It would have been valuable here to see how many people of other nationalities, races, and creeds they were able to identify with; however, any direct questioning in these sensitive areas was seen as liable to arouse parochial and regional feelings and thereby prejudice the response. It was hoped that these variants would be adequately represented in the sample by virtue of the fact that a person who was capable of being "personally acquainted" with members of groups other than his own would reflect this in responding with a higher number than a person whose acquaintance was severely restricted by prejudicial exclusion.

"Personally acquainted" is a local idiom understandable to urban and rural residents of Kanawha County.

3. Intellectual Variety:

A query regarding the number of non-fiction books read regularly in the last twelve months provided an index for this correlate of scale. In pre-tests, this item on the schedule discriminated effectively. It was reasoned that such other possible indexes to intellectual variety as attendance at lectures or discussion groups or classes or one sort or another would be highly correlated to the reading of non-fiction books, but that facilities for these activities were not as universally available as books.

4. Artistic Variety:

The contact of a person or group with the ideas of others has its counterpart in the emotional realm. An index was selected to reflect this artistic variety. From participant observation, it was noted that most residents of Kanawha County had either a radio or a T.V. They are therefore asked on the schedule to list up to ten favorite programs. Households are rated on a scale of one to ten in accordance with the variety of interest reflected in their responses. The following typology was decided upon as a fair division of those programs

currently featured in the area.

Comedy	Western
Sports	Detective
Variety	Quiz
Musical	Religious
Cartoon	Medical

An attempt was made to include in this typology only those programs of predominantly emotional content. Such news and documentary programs as featured were considered as being under the heading of intellectual variety (III, C above).

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